1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

are blamed if he should go about unpainted for a considerable period. "So-and-so's sister," gossips will say, "does not look out a bit for her brother! Just look! He has not a particle of urucú on his body!"

Since the preparation of urucú reddens one's hands in any case, the coarser ornamentation on the body is executed with the fingers and palms, little rods being reserved for the fine red lines of the face paint. Stamps and painting-forks are never used in this connection.

These devices are employed however with the black rubber pigment, which is prepared from the latex of a low steppe tree (*Sapium* sp.). A branch is generally hacked off and barked at home. The juice (arą́mhõk) oozing out of the bast is gathered into a gourd bowl, where it may be immediately mixed with powdered charcoal. Alternatively, the pure latex may be painted on the surface, the powder being rubbed in subsequently. Paint of this type often remains visible for a week, and one rarely sees a Timbira without at least some traces of it. Fróes Abreu[329] has described this pigment, whereas Snethlage ignores it, obviously taking all black paint to be genipa.

Genipa, though used very rarely, is obligatory at certain ceremonies. The apple-like fruits of the genipa tree (porti; *Genipa americana*) are gathered and bisected, then the halves are put into the fire with the plane of bisection on top. As soon as they are heated, one crushes the core with a little rod so that the juice accumulates in the rind, and applies it with a little cotton at the end of a stick. At first the effect remains colorless, but after a few hours the paint turns blackish blue, persisting for over two weeks on unexposed skin. Snethlage mistakenly reports that the stem of the shrub provides the pigment and that there is an admixture of a fine oil.[330]

Only on a single occasion—the terminal solemnity of the final initiation phase—have I been able to observe the use of the yellow pigment derived from the urucú root for bodily decoration. On the other hand, it is applied more than others to the ornamentation of pouches and mats of burity bast.

The ceremonial combs and the cotton wristlets of the girl associates, as well as the anterior surfaces of earplugs, are colored with white clay. The latter have black and red designs on the white background. White clay I have seen applied as body paint only at the ceremony after the return of a girls' collecting expedition into the steppe and at the hõčwa celebration (p. 63).

The black rubber and the red urucú paint are applied in everyday life, either each by itself for a complete coating or in combination; but complex designs are only executed on special occasions. The ordinary painting is that described by Snethlage: on the front and the back of the body, on the right and the left side, there is a broad vertical stripe in black, with a red one in the middle. The hands and feet are never painted black, but invariably red. The face paint usually comprises vertical red strokes across the forehead, bridge of the nose, mouth, and chin; or across the forehead, eyes, and cheeks; likewise horizontal lines at the corners of the eyes and mouth. The older men do not paint at all after the day of their last log race, nor do old women decorate themselves in this way. Little children are most frequently painted black all over, a procedure supposed to promote their growth.

The Canella painting outfit is comparatively multiform (pl. 14). In addition to the above-mentioned little rods and the brushes made of a cotton wad on a stick,

[329] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras. 183.
[330] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 149.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

washed, but not painted. Now her husband joins her in the partitioned space, which neither parent leaves except for necessity until the navel string drops off. In less rigorous form the seclusion lasts for over a month after that—the Indians said, for two months altogether. However, in one case I determined the period by actual count as only forty-two days. Until the dropping of the navel cord the mother wears a burity cord reddened with urucú around her hips—possibly a reminiscence of the band worn by lying-in Apinayé women, who thereby try to avert the enervation of the abdominal wall.

The navel string that has dropped off is wrapped with cotton thread and stored by the mother in the gourd (p. 52; also pl. 14, *m*) containing urucú seeds for body paint. At about the age of four the child receives this package from his mother and deposits his navel cord in the hole of some sucupira tree on the steppe: thereby he will grow as tough as the sucupira itself.

Like all other persons in seclusion, the parents must not paint or decorate themselves, neither cut their hair nor scratch themselves with their fingers, substituting for the last purpose special little sticks. During the entire period they are limited to vegetable fare, maize—today rice also—being considered most fitting, as well as manioc flat cakes for the mother. Other forms of manioc are forbidden, as are gourds. In eating sweet potatoes the couple must not throw away the skins, but collect them in a basket and carry them behind the house. The father must not execute any hard work or otherwise exert himself in any fashion.

If a woman, whether single or ceremonially wedded, has had extramarital sex relations with one or more men during pregnancy, she ruthlessly names them all immediately after her delivery, when her husband retires with her behind the mat enclosure. This confession is in the child's interest, for these men must all go into retreat; no Indian, whether a bachelor or married man, would ever dare deny his copaternity, as it were, and shirk seclusion, which customarily takes place in his mother's home. When a wanton named Muruwá gave birth to her first child, four men were obliged to go into retirement, though judging from the comments passed this seemed "a bit thick" even to the natives. Otherwise no one is ashamed of copaternity, and several times when the parents of a person were under discussion some Indian would thrust himself forward unbidden, declaring, "I too, am his father!" As explained (p. 78), the relationships resulting from copaternity are assessed precisely like those due to legitimate paternity in our sense.

END OF SECLUSION

In the case of a girl baby, whose name would be derived from a patrilineal kinswoman, a patrilineal relative goes deer hunting; for a boy baby, who gets his name in the matrilineal line, a matrilineal kinsman must assume this duty.

When Patkwę'i gave birth for the first time, she had mentioned a man besides her husband as having to go into seclusion. When this period was over, her maternal uncle asked her husband to secure the game required. He killed a steppe deer, which was prepared in Patkwę'i's maternal home so as to furnish three meat pies. In the afternoon the rópkama, his age class, assembled at their plaza station while Patkwę'i was being washed behind her home, had her hair cut, and was decorated with urucú. Thus she went directly across the plaza to the house of her lover and with the words "Apukwur ne!" invited him to fetch his share. He straightway betook himself to her matrilineal dwelling, where he received a slice of meat pie, which he took to his mother. In the meantime Patkwę'i went from door to door round the boulevard—a formal presentation undertaken after any serious illness. There-

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

851 846 upon the age class trotted toward Patkwę'i's house, humming "like humming birds," and there a whole meat pie was distributed among them. Meanwhile Patkwę'i's husband had also abandoned the partitioned space of seclusion, put on his earplugs once more, and had himself painted with urucú. When the rópkamà still humming as before, ran back, one of the oldest Indians came to meet them dancing, howling like a steppe fox, and bashfully slinking from one side to another. As a steppe fox always visits an abandoned camp site in search of food remnants, so the old man was looking for the residue at Patkwę'i's house.

A ceremony of such complexity, however, takes place only when the first child is born. On the same day another woman, who had already given birth to a number of children, was discharged from her retreat. All she did was to send a meat pie via her brother to the council assembled in the plaza.

851 [551] 846 When Kapẽrtụk's wife had been delivered of a little girl, his sister, Mĩkwę'i, took her in her arms and carried her to the aunt's matrilineal home, thereby indicating that she would transfer her names to the infant. Then Kapẽrtụk's and Mĩkwę'i's maternal uncle went to hunt a deer, which he turned over to his niece. The meat she prepared was partaken of by all the inmates of the matrilineal home of Kapẽrtụk's wife, except herself and her husband. Unprepared slices of this game must not be distributed in other dwellings lest the hunter lose his luck, growing lazy and sleepy (čukaká). For the same reason he must not throw his booty on the floor when he gets home, but must deposit it with caution.

[825] After his seclusion an infant's father goes on a hunting trip in order to kill an anteater of the smaller species (*Myrmecophaga tetradactyla*), which is said to "rear its children like a human being" by carrying them around on its back.

852 As soon as the child has its change of hair, the furrow is cut round its head.

604 Not until the close of seclusion does the mother indulge in domestic chores, and even then only in part because during the first months she hardly lets go of her infant. In leaving the house she turns it over to her own mother or another female housemate. A little girl is likely to spend considerable time at a paternal aunt's—even if she should not be the one from whom she acquires her names. This bond between little girls and their paternal aunts often is of great intimacy, being even more striking than the corresponding tie between a boy and his maternal uncle, which manifests itself later and especially in ceremonial. This uncle certainly pays no attention to a nursling's care.

853 856 So long as the mother maintains continence, the child is supposed to grow apace. For this reason many women abstain from marital congress for months, allowing the hair around their temples to grow, but immediately clipping it after the first postnatal cohabitation. This obligatory continence is by no means to every husband's taste, and a fantastic tale of suicide—relegated, it is true, to the days of long ago—is told. On the plea that their child was still too small a woman denied her husband access for many months. He had himself, as well as the nephew to whom he had transferred his names, decorated and took the boy into the steppe. There he pretended to hunt falcons, kindled a fire around himself and the boy, causing both to perish.

[762]

INFANCY

853 The nursing period lasts about two years. The mother gives suck as often as the child desires it, kinswomen being glad to help so far as they are able. The mother teaches her child to eat cooked food by chewing it and then placing it in the infant's mouth.

854 As soon as the child is able to sit, the mother carries it straddling her left hip